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ORANGEISM EXPOSED,

WITH A

REFUTATION OF THE CHARGES, &C. &C.

BROUGHT AGAINST THE

IRISH NATION,

BY

LAWYER DAVID GRAHAM,

OF NEW-YORK,

IN HIS DEFENCE OF THE ORANGEMEN, TRIED IN THIS CITY, ON
THE 13TH AND 14TH DAYS OF SEPTEMBER, 1824,
FOR ASSAULT AND BATTERY ON A POOR
IRISHMAN, ON THE TWELFTH
DAY OF JULY, 1824.



BY AN UNBIASSED IRISHMAN.



“A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves.”



New-York:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

W. Loughlin & Crampton Printers, 163. Chatham-street.

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ORANGISM.

&c. &c.



THERE is no country whose history is so little known, nor one which has been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and hired scribblers, than Ireland. This may be attributed to the *Vandalism* of her oppressors; for, so soon as England gained a footing in that country, her interested policy led her to the destruction of every document, within her grasp, that could throw any light on its history or expose her usurpations, and the system pursued by her, in relation to its government.

The necessity of this policy has been so well understood in England, and it is a remarkable fact, that from the earliest period, up to the present day, the different factions which have succeeded each other in the government of Ireland, have uniformly concealed or palliated the atrocities committed therein by their predecessors.

It is curious to see, that however this selfish people may quarrel among themselves *about power at home*; with what circumspection they avoid every thing that may lead to an exposure of the administration of the government in Ireland.

Their very vehicles of slander, (the news-papers) through which they heap abuse on each other without measure, seem to have an understanding on this head; for if they notice Ireland at all, it is not for the purpose of exposing the misgovernment of, and the atrocities committed in that devoted province. No; they know too well, that such a course would prove injurious to British pretensions, with her numerous societies for the civilization of the pagan world; as it would naturally and undoubtedly expose to astonished Europe the *real* character of the English Government and people, who expend immense sums under the specious pretext of converting and civilizing the barbarous subjects of foreign powers; at the same time that they pursue a system which has for its object the total

debasement and degradation of a people whom they are bound to protect, and to whom they deny the common rights of man. There is no better course to be pursued, if one wishes to attract the notice of the British government, and secure some lucrative employment, than that of reviling the Irish people, trampling them under foot, and falsifying the history of their country. The few who have pursued a different course—who have made any attempt at an impartial review of the treachery and tyranny of England, have been persecuted and hunted down as traitors to the good old cause.*.

The authorized romances of Musgrave and others, are bandied about as the only pure sources whence the members of the Orange faction can derive their knowledge of Irish history. It is not wonderful, then, that they should be so invincibly ignorant as not to know the most remarkable circumstances connected with their own ascendancy, nor the origin of that power whence they derive their very existence.

These remarks are called forth by a publication that now lies before me.† In itself it merits not the attention of any man, and I may be censured for noticing it; some declaring it beneath contempt; others that it is a bait for English patronage. I agree with all, yet am of opinion, that *the subject* claims our most serious attention. In it is involved the hope of the emigrant, and the future repose of the Irish citizens of this country. If Orangeism be tolerated here, we are undone. The sooner we abandon the country the better. Our feelings outraged, the sanctuaries of home violated, we shall be exposed to midnight assassination, a continual strife will destroy the confidence of the government; we shall become hateful to our fellow-citizens, and, at length, sink into the

* Plowden was employed by the British ministry to write a Court Calendar, he was, however, found not sufficiently pliant, having thought proper to write something like a history, he was discarded, persecuted, compelled to fly his native country, and is now living on a garret in Paris, yet this man advocated the Union, was the friend of the present king, Pitt, &c. &c. and is in every respect a very prejudiced Englishman.

† A mutilated report of the speeches for the prosecution, and in defence of the Orangemen, &c. &c.

same abject state of despondency from which we emancipated ourselves with an effort in abandoning our native land. To our countryman in oppression it will be still more injurious. To what country then can he look for refuge when, driven from his home? When he flies the murdering banditti that dies in blood the green fields of his native land, where can he seek an asylum? It is incumbent then, on every honest Irishman, to contribute his might towards the exposure of the views and principles of those dangerous assassins, as well as the historical falsities on which their advocate founds his pretensions to have them treated as men belonging to a harmless association, which derives its origin in the pure source of religious toleration.

Lord Bolingbroke ridicules the idea of love of country being implanted in us by nature; he supposes it founded more in moral than in physical causes,* and although I do not fully subscribe to this doctrine, *Amor patriæ ratione valentior omni*, yet am I led to think that there is some foundation for his opinion, from the melancholy fact, that Ireland has given birth to so many men, who do not seem to be actuated by any other feeling towards her than *dislike and aversion*. They seize on every opportunity of calumniating her people, falsifying her history, and sounding forth praises of England, and their own admiration of her power and glory. That Mr. Graham is one of the living examples in support of this doctrine, will be fully proved in the course of these sheets; and as the champion of a system, which has long been reprobated by every honourable mind, he must but attribute it to his own Quixotism, if he become so notorious, as that no Irishman will associate with an individual who has dared to calumniate nine tenths of his suffering countrymen—the Catholics and Presbyterians of Ireland.

Had he been wise, he had still remained in obscurity, court- ing the smiles of his warm hearted countrymen; or if he felt an uncontrollable desire of bringing his oratorical powers into notice, why did he not resume his *original profession* of holding

* Locke and Condorcet labour also to shew the absurdity of the belief in innate ideas.

forth to the multitude? or what would be still more congenial to his feelings and principles, why did he not wait patiently till Orangeism was organized in the country; and then his ambition of notoriety might have been fully gratified, by the *appointment* of High-Priest to the tribe: but perhaps he considered the course pursued the surest way of attaining this *honourable* office; if so, I congratulate him on his prospects!!!

With his attack on Emmet and Sampson, it is beneath me to wrestle. Men, who will live in the memory of future times, whose names belong to history, require not my advocacy; and, from the contemptuous smile that lighted up their features when this *modest* gentleman told them, that in science, legal knowledge, and every other acquirement, than experience at the bar, he (Graham) would not shrink from a competition with either of them, we may form some idea of the importance that they attach to his opinion.

The vanity of such a man, in placing himself on a level with men, whose enlightened minds and expanded views soar so far beyond the murky darkness of his bigot soul, will lead him, no doubt, to conclude that considerable importance is attached to his opinions, and to himself individually, in thus introducing him before the public; but, to undeceive him, I now tell him once for all, that his assertions, so false in fact, so full of ignorance and absurdity, would remain unnoticed by me, were it not to dispel the mists of prejudice that may have been raised in the public mind, by uncontradicted statements, reflecting on my country and its inhabitants, made too, by a man who *calls himself* an Irishman.

I shall pass over, in silence, this gentleman's attack on that "false and cruel religion," as he is pleased to entitle the religious creed of seven-eighths of his countrymen, nor will I make any attempt to defend "those horrid tenets" which have desolated the world.

This in me is a matter of inclination as well as of prudence. I am ignorant of theology—I never had any inclination for the study. Should I, therefore, make the attempt, the odds would be fearfully against me; Mr. Graham being a theologian, as I presume, from his having been some years ago on

the mission in the Jerseys. But, in history—there I will meet him fearlessly; I know history as well as he, I know the history of my country better than he does, as I shall show, before I have done.

Taking his assertions in rotation, as they present themselves, I shall begin with page 10, line 31, he says, “that about the middle of the 12th century, the English first gained a footing in Ireland,” “Orangeism took its rise in a religious controversy of *seven hundred years standing*,” that is precisely 393 years before there was any difference in religious opinions in England, much less in Ireland, and about fifty years before the English landed in the country.* This is too much, most learned counsellor! what, the English inhabitants fighting for Irish lands, and Irish tithes, *fifty years* before one of them landed in the country, and quarrelling too, on the score of religion, *400 years* before the reformation—this requires no comment. Line 13, page 11, “To depict the disasters of the English during the period of two hundred years that followed, would exhaust volumes! What sympathy is here betrayed for ruthless invaders, blood-thirsty tigers, who came to deprive an unoffending people of their rights, and to rob them of their liberties and possessions. Would to God that their “disasters” had been greater, that every one of them had been exterminated, and that the people had cause, and that they would have exterminated the invaders, had they been true to their country and to themselves, we need but refer to the history of that period. We shall there see that as early as the reign of Edward II. the work of plunder commenced on a large scale; the earnings of the people went then, as they do now, to the support of their oppressors; *free quarters* robbed them of even the semblance of property; they had nothing but what became the prey of a rapacious soldiery; Sir John Davis† describes the coyne and livery, or free quarters of that day thus, “that this extor-

* The English under Robert Fitzstephens first landed in Ireland in the spring of 1170.

† Sir John Davis was an Englishman and a British Judge—he resided long in Ireland.

tion did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste; next, it made the people idle; for when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldiers, in one night, did consume the fruits of all his labour, *longique perit labor irritus anni*.* Doctor Leland, at a later period, remarks;† “The compendious Irish method of quartering the soldiers on the inhabitants, and leaving them to support themselves by arbitrary exactions, seem to have been pointed out by the urgent occasion, was adopted with alacrity, and executed with rigour. Riot, rapine, massacre, and all the tremendous effects of anarchy were the natural consequences. *Every inconsiderable party, who, under the pretence of loyalty, received the King’s commission to repel the adversary in some particular district, became pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their properties, their lives, the chastity of their families, were all exposed to barbarians, who sought only to glut their brutal passions; and, by their horrible excesses, purchased the curse of God and man.*” Here, might not one suppose, Dr. Leland was describing the Orange faction of the present day, but no such thing. These outrages were *first* perpetrated by the catholic English. English catholic kings adjudged it no felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace,‡ and those found with their upper lips unshaven for the space of a fortnight, (as was the Irish fashion), were liable to be seized on as Irish enemies, their properties taken, and they themselves held to ransom.§ By the statutes of Kilkenny, alliance by marriage, nurture of infants, and gossiped with the Irish, are made high treason.¶

Thus commenced that line of demarcation drawn by the policy of England, to keep her party distinct from the great body of the people, that it might have a separate interest, and be entirely dependent on her. *It is this feature* in her government, that has paralyzed the energies of Ireland, brought ruin on her people, and died the country in blood. All these facts, are, however,

* Sir Davis’ Diser. 174.

† An English protestant divine. Histor. 1 vol. page 230.

‡ Dav. Dis. 102.

§ Stat. of Trim, 25 Hen. VI. Chap. 4—1447.

¶ 40 Edward III.—1366,

overlooked by the *learned* Mr. Graham, his sympathies are excited, his compassionate regards are only directed to the "disasters" of *those* who robbed Ireland of its independence.

The second paragraph, in page 11, begins with "a new impulse was given in the reign of Henry VIII. to the hostility of the ancient Irish. The English Pale readily assented to the doctrines of the reformation, &c. &c." The latter part of these assertions is utterly false, and devoid of all foundation. The people of the English Pale became, in despite of British policy, in some degree, amalgamated with the Irish before the period he alludes to. The reformation made little or no progress in that country till a much later period.* The section of country, that originally formed the English pale, is about the most catholic in Ireland. This is not of any further consequence in itself, than as it goes to prove the utter ignorance of the man who is, according to his own opinion, equal in every thing to an Emmet. The Pale, in its most extended limits, formed itself of a part of the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin and Kildare; those four counties contained, according to the census of 1822, a population of 626,412 souls—of these 33,926 are protestants or dissenters, and the remaining 592,486 are catholics.† The descendants of the great families of the Pale are to this day catholic. The Plunkets, the Prestons, the Barnwells, the Bellews, &c. &c.‡ The descendants of those who became protestant at an early period, in Ireland, are, to a man, Irish in feeling and principle. They execrate, as much as any other portion of their countrymen, the tyranny of England, and that hellish crew of Orangemen of which Mr. Graham is (if not in name) in spirit a

* See Lord Clare's speech on the Union, page 13.

† See notes on Ireland by Reed, a protestant and surgeon in the British navy, page 333. He gives the census of Ireland for 1822, as 7,855,606; of these 6,871,919 are catholics. The surplus 983,687 souls are presbyterians or protestants.

‡ An estate in Ireland, now in the possession of a catholic Lord, belonged to the ancestors of the writer of these sheets—one of them was robbed of it in the time of Cromwell, merely because he was of the *old* Irish, and given to an ancestor of the present Lord Southwell, who professed himself a protestant till the storm passed.

member. It was reserved for the colonists after the reformation, to complete the degradation and enslavement of that ill-fated country.

At the period of which we are now treating, the inhabitants of the Pale became obnoxious to the English, by wishing to strengthen themselves, by forming alliances with the ancient Irish, against the encroachments of Henry VIII. and his satellites. The struggle was no longer between the Anglo-Irish of the Pale and the Irish nation. A new horde of English adventurers, under the plea of religious zeal, passed over, with the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other, headed by George Brown, an apostate Augustinian Friar. They covered themselves with the mantle of heaven, that they might the more securely plunder the hapless natives of this ill-fated country. They, however, met with unexpected opposition, in the firmness of Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, *by birth an Englishman.*

And if any proof be necessary to establish the fact, that a difference in religion was at no time the cause of disturbances in Ireland, but merely seized on as a pretext to divide the people and create heartburnings in the country, it is in the account given of the suppression of Lord Kildare's rebellion, in the reign of Henry VIII. by Borlase, who was himself a satellite. He says, "that on the failure of this enterprise, Henry VIII. affected to consider it a new conquest of Ireland, and proposed it to be debated in his council, whether he had not now acquired a right to seize at once on *all* the estates of the Kingdom, *spiritual and temporal*, and reparcel them out to his hungry followers." He no longer considered the inhabitants of the Pale, but as a part of a devoted people. They were plundered and persecuted under the name of offended religion. They were considered and treated as Irish enemies.* This, in truth, they merited; it was but a just retribution of Divine Providence, for the tyranny they themselves exercised but a little before on the unhappy natives.

The same Machiavelian policy has been pursued by all the

* *Vide Dr. Leland, vol. iii. page 171.*

English monarchs towards this devoted country; whether catholic Mary* or protestant Elizabeth† wicked the British sceptre, it made no difference; the same systematic persecution still prevailed.

We now approach the most eventful period in Ireland's history. The commencement of the reign of the hypocritical and infamous house of Stuart. *About that time it was that the seeds of Orangeism were first implanted in our soil.* Whole districts were laid waste by James I.‡; and colonies of Puritans from Scotland and England, filled with the spirit of rapine and religious bigotry, took possession of the lands of the affrighted natives, who fled in terror to the farthest extremities of the island. It was then that the "*new impulse was given to the hostility of the persecuted natives.*"—houseless wanderers, strangers in the lands of their fathers, is it a wonder that they were hostile? Yet Mr. Graham, true to his principles, speaks of the "want of power of language to depict the horrors that awaited the puritans (for protestants there were but few)§ of Ireland, at this period. I will here ask any American how he would feel, how he would act, were he driven from his home, plundered of his property, by a horde of infuriated wretches from a foreign land, whatever might be their religious opinions? But let us hear what Sir John Davis says of the Irish of this period, and judge if this charge of Mr.

* Catholic Mary, by her deputy, robbed of their estates the *Catholic Irish* of two districts, Leix and Offalia, now king's and queen's counties.

† The picture given of the atrocities of some of Elizabeth's generals, by Spencer, who was secretary to the cold-blooded monster, Lord Deputy Grey, is truly frightful. He describes the country then as rich and plentiful, full of corn and cattle, "*yet in one year and a half the people were brought to such wretchedness, that their legs could not support them, they looked like anatomies of death; they did eat dead carrions, happy where they could find them, and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast.* In a little time the country was left void of man and beast.

‡ Sir Richard Cox says, that 511,456 Irish acres were seized on by James, and the possessors banished. See, also, Sir George Paul's life of archbishop Whitgift, page 47.

§ Geoghegan, in his history, says that there were not 60 protestant families in Ireland at the accession of James I.

Graham be well founded. Sir John was then residing in the country as British chief justice, he says :* “ For the truth is, that in time of peace the Irish are more fearful to offend, than the English or any other nation whatsoever,” and again,† “ In which condition of subjects they will gladly continue without defection, or adhering to any other lord or king, *as long as they be protected and justly governed, without oppression on one side, or impunity on the other.* For there is no nation of people, under the sun, that doth love equal and impartial justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, though it be against themselves.” This is the testimony of an Englishman who knew the people, and had an opportunity of judging. Is he not entitled to more credit than a bigot descendant of those very puritans of whom we are now treating ?

The next in order is Mr. Graham’s attack on the Irish of 1641 ; “ their religious bigotry, their persecuting spirit, their massacres,” &c. &c. It is very difficult to disprove general assertions, mere declamation, without argument. That the Irish have committed excesses, every body will allow ; but that their *uniform* resistance to British tyranny, even up to the present day, is fully justified by the cruelty and oppression of their governors, no candid man will deny ; for, setting aside the right that all people have to govern themselves, and admitting for a moment, that England has had a legitimate right to govern Ireland, yet has she not forfeited all claims to the obedience of the people of that country, by robbing them of their rights as men, by refusing them the protection of her laws, and treating them as common enemies. The rising of 1641, to which the gentleman alludes, occurred about thirty years after the *expulsion* of the Irish out of the North. *The cause*, he however, does not state ; but I will. With a new reign (Charles I.) commenced new measures ; new favourites were to be provided for ; the infamous Strafford was named Viceroy. “ He was impatient to signalize his administration by a service of immediate and extensive emolu-

* Dav. Dis. 267.

† Dav. Dis. 283.

ment to his royal master. His project was nothing less than to subvert the title to every estate in every part of Connaught, and to establish new plantations throughout the whole province.* Thus were the unfortunate natives, after having been driven from their homes in the North, to seek a shelter in the desolate wilds of Connaught, threatened with the loss of this their last asylum. Free-quarters were proclaimed as a preparatory measure; add to this, the solemn promises of Charles remained unredeemed; the Penal laws were enforced with the utmost rigours;† fines were imposed on those who neglected attending the Established Church; an high commissioned Court was erected to try the titles to the estates of the inhabitants of Connaught, which were in the possession of their ancestors for a thousand years. So determined was Strafford to obtain lands for his minions, “that jurors who gave their verdict according to their consciences, were censured in the Castle-chamber in great fines; sometimes pillored, with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue; and sometimes marked over the forehead with other infamous punishments.”‡ Were not these provocations sufficient to drive a whole people to madness? Yet they were but the prelude. Lord Clarendon says, that “about the beginning of November, in this year, the English and Scotch forces in Carrickfergus murdered, in one night, all the inhabitants of the island Macgee, to the number of three thousand, men, women, and children, *all innocent persons*, in a time when none of the Catholics of that country were in arms or rebellion; and he concludes the paragraph with a *Nota Bene* that this was the first massacre committed on either side;§ and of course it was the signal for a general rising. The

* Leland, vol. 3, p. 30, 31.

† A Catholic Priest was dragged from the altar whilst performing divine service, by an infuriated soldiery, headed by the protestant archbishop of Dublin, and the Lord Mayor. They carried off the sacred utensils, ornaments, &c. This was winked at by Strafford.

‡ Articles of impeachment of Strafford's.—*Journal of the House of Commons.*

§ Clar. Hist. Review of the state of Ireland, page 329.

people found, unfortunately from experience, that their only hope of safety rested on their union, and in the field; for when actually there, their native bravery, in spite of every disadvantage, secured them against treachery and massacre. In their homes they had no safety---peace they could not enjoy. "In Desey's county, the neighbouring English garrisons of the county of Cork, after burning and pillaging all that county, murdered above three hundred men, women, and children before any rebellion began in Munster, and led one hundred labourers prisoners to Caperquin, where, being tied by couples, they were cast into the river, and made sport to see them drowned; at the same time that this county is *not charged with any murder to be committed on Protestants.*"* So much for the "bigotry, the persecuting spirit, the massacres of the Irish," &c. If they did massacre, the ancestors of Mr. Graham set them the example. The Irish did not commence the war of 1641, "till they were convinced that they must have either turned Protestants, or quit the country, or be hanged at their own doors."† They flew to arms in their own defence. The retaliation was dreadful. The infamous faction that planned and organized the insurrection were nearly extirpated. They wished for a pretext to butcher the people; and had like themselves to have fallen victims to their own bloody policy. "The partizans in the Privy Council *privately* wrote to the Earl of Leicester, then Lord Lieutenant, desiring his secrecy, for they could not speak openly at the Council Board, that he would *not accept of any overtures for checking the Northern rebellion*, because the charge of supplies from England would be abundantly *compensated out of the estates of the actors in the rebellion.*"† The only danger dreaded was that of a too speedy suppression of the rebellion. Extensive forfeitures was the favourite object."‡

I have been induced to enter more fully into this portion of the history of Ireland, than perhaps my limits would fully

* Clarendon's Review of the state of Ireland, page 396.

† Dr. Anderson's Genealogies, page 786.

‡ Cart. 1 vol. page 194.

§ Ireland, vol. 3, p. 160

warrant, by the desire of disabusing those who might have been led away by the coloured statements of prejudiced historians, who have painted the rising of 1641, as a war of religion. That it was the *Powder Plot* of the government in Ireland, cannot be doubted; and that it did not succeed as in England, is to be attributed to the differences in the numerical strength of the contending parties. In both, the object was the same; to rob the people of their possessions, under the plea of religious differences. Let us here pause for a moment, and reflect on the *object* and *end* of all governments, founded in right and justice. If in the protection and happiness of a people be constituted the *rights* of rulers and governors, what must we think of those who plan and goad a people into rebellion, that they may rob them of their properties, and fatten on the spoils?

But the Irish of 1641, were Papists;* and "Papists (Mr. Graham says, page 11,) believe in the infallibility of the Pope, and hold that no faith is to be kept with those who differ from them in religion. Good God! can these be the assertions of a man who boasts of his science and legal knowledge. I myself do not suppose him so ignorant as to believe in such malignant falsehoods. What! the Catholics of Ireland hold the doctrine, that no faith is to be kept with Protestants. Why then do they exclude themselves from all offices of trust or emolument, under the British government? They are but required to take certain oaths to make them eligible to every office; and yet they have remained excluded for more than a century, in spite of their belief "*that no obligation can bind them---that no faith is to be kept with Protestants.*" This doctrine, which the *learned* gentleman attributes to Catholics, is in truth the ground-work and funda-

* The influence of the Roman Pontiff was never admitted in Ireland beyond that of *spiritual* supremacy, as first Pastor of the Catholic Church. In 1152 the *first* general council, under the control of the Roman Pontiff, was held in Kells, Cardinal Paparon, legate a latere, presiding. He, no doubt, was sent to pave the way for the submission of the Church, to the mandate of an infamous English Pope. The clergy, notwithstanding, opposed it manfully; yet are the Catholics of Ireland, tauntingly called papists, by the descendants of the basest slaves of the Roman Pontiff.

mental principle of Orangeism. The very allegiance of Orangemen is conditional; not so long as their idol king preserves their liberties as citizens, do they swear to be good and loyal subjects; no such thing---this is not their political creed. It is, so long, and so long only, as he secures to them their ascendancy in Church and State; so long as he thinks as they do, believes what they believe, and changes his religious opinions with every new act of Parliament: but should he presume to think for himself; to think that the people are entitled equally to the protection of the laws, without any regard to religious distinctions; they will oppose him, as not being longer the king of a faction—he will *not be entitled to their support.*

Mr. Graham, in his review or summary of that which he would feign make pass for Irish history, passes over in silence the period from 1641 to the invasion of William III. Is it that he felt ashamed of the conduct of his ancestors, the Puritans, their base desertion of their benefactors, the Stuarts; the infamy of their union with the puritanical, bloody tyrant, Cromwell. No; the advocate of Orangeism must exult in the sufferings of the people; besides, they *then* did but what their descendants and successors, the Orangemen, *do now.* They joined in trampling on the rights of the people. They united with the myrmidons of Cromwell in their atrocious massacres and house burnings. It was no longer profitable to support royalty. The Irish, on the contrary, faithful to their oaths, and *fancied* obligations towards the English king, struggled for eleven years in defence of that throne which was raised on the ruins of their country. "After the most fierce and bloody contest, in which the whole face of the Island was desolated, and its population nearly extinguished," they were compelled to bend beneath the yoke, or expatriate themselves.* Thus leaving their properties as spoils for traitors,

* On one occasion Cromwell did not scruple to transport 40,000 Irish from their own country, to fill all the armies in Europe with complaints of his cruelty and admiration of their own valour. ---*Dartrymple Mem.* 1 vol. page 267.

and yet in spite of the unheard-of sufferings of this ill-fated, unfortunate people, in the cause of Charles II. he, on his restoration to the throne, not only did not restore to them their possessions, confiscated by Cromwell, but guaranteed to the murderers of his father, *these rewards of their treachery*, and with that systematic ingratitude which has characterized his whole race, he sanctioned the enactment of laws which excluded the Irish from all places of trust or profit; and that famous act of settlement, in which they are stiled "rebels," for having fought in his defence, and by which 7,800,000 acres of land were set out under its authority to a motley crew of English adventurers, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants.* Titles were conferred on the rebellious regicides, and a brave and loyal people surrendered up to the fury of the enemies of social order.

Now for Mr. Graham's jump of nearly fifty years. Page 12, begins, "After various renewed attempts to effect an entire extermination of the Protestants, their enemies resolved to embrace the reign of James II. to give it completion, &c. The work of destruction, projected on a large scale, was in rapid progress, when William, Prince of Orange, was resorted to by the sufferers, and supplicated to assume their protection. When in an exuberance of joy the Lord Mayor of Dublin committed the officers of Christ Church, because the bells did not ring merrily enough on the birth of a son to James. When more than three-fourths of the population of Ireland united, swore, upon the altar of religion, the utter extermination of protestants; when the wretched remnant of a most sanguinary persecution trembled in expectation of the decisive blow. At that period it was, *on the 12th of July, 1690, on the banks of the Boyne*, that William, Prince of Orange, *commissioned by heaven, like the destroying angel, who smote the Assyrian camp, by night, attacked and routed the armies of James.*" The invasion of William—the reign of James with the *dirty name*—the final degradation of Ireland, and the triumph of a faction, are themes on which the Orangeman

* *See Lord Clare's Speech on the Union.*

wishes to dwell. The events of this period of Ireland's history first warmed him into life, and furnished food to the malignant passions of his soul. We must again have recourse to history, to disprove those sweeping assertions of the *modest and learned* gentleman. That James was counselled, *not* by catholics to his worst acts, *but* by protestants, hear Dr. Leslie, a famous protestant divine ; he says : " that it is now publicly known, that the fatal measures he took were advised, and often pressed, against his majesty's inclinations and opinion, *by those protestants*, whom his unexampled and even faulty clemency, had not only pardoned for all their bitter virulency in opposing his succession, but brought *them into his most secret councils, and acted by their advice.*"* But an entire extermination of the Protestants was projected on a large scale." Is it not a notorious fact, that all Ireland was in the military possession of the catholic army under James's viceroy, up to Shomberg's landing, (two garrisons excepted ;) yet no massacres were committed. On the contrary, the discipline of the Irish army was admirable, as is acknowledged by its most inveterate enemies ; some of whom being candid enough to declare, "*that the Protestants had less to dread from it, than from that English army, who came (according to Mr. Graham) to deliver them from popish slavery.*" Dr. George, who was secretary to Shomberg (William's confidential General,) says, in a letter addressed to a Colonel Hamilton, " that it was resolved (by them) to treat the Protestants of Ulster rather as *enemies than friends.* That the goods and stocks of the Protestant inhabitants once seized by the enemy were forfeited, and ought not to be restored, but given as encouragement to the soldiers ; that their (the protestants) oaths and complaints were *neither to be believed nor redressed* ; that so an easier and safer approach might be made to the little left them by the Irish ; that free-quartering was the least retaliation that Protestants could give for being restored to their former estates ; *that religion was but canting, &c.* If to these you add, the pressing of horses at pleasure, denying the people bread or

* Leslie's preface to his answer to Archbishop King.

seed of their own corn, &c. whereby multitudes of families are already reduced for want of bread, and left only to beg and steal, or starve : these being the practices, and these the principles, and both as well known to you as to me, *it cannot be wondered that the oppressed Protestants here should report us worse than the Irish.*" So much for the real policy of William, this idol of Orangeism, who "came like the destroying angel, and saved the protestants from utter annihilation."* The truth is, William cared as little for Protestants as for Catholics ; he grasped at a throne, and cared not about the *means*. At this period in England the hue and cry, raised about fifty years before against popery, being at its height, William, of course, affected the utmost hatred of Catholics ; yet his foreign troops were composed of Catholics ; and men of the proscribed religion were most of his confidence. Intolerance being ever the spirit of the English People, he professed himself an enemy to toleration, yet no man loved it more. His Dutch subjects were all *equally* protected and entitled to his favour, without any distinction as to religion ; but, devoid of all principles, he was a hypocrite in religion, and a camelson in politics. He suited his administration to the prejudices of the times and the people that he had to govern. The Spirit of his administration was, as to Scotland Presbyterian, to England Puritanical, and to Ireland it was any thing and every thing to suit the faction which governed in his name. A king without power to do good ; the general of a rapacious horde of hungry expectants, he has been more unjustly censured, and falsely praised, than any other monarch that has filled the British throne.

James is condemned by the base admirers of William "for having intended, as they say, to do in Ireland what he did *not do when in his power*, and what king William actually did when in Scotland, viz. to overturn the Church, then by law established, though king James had truly the argument of *the*

* Cromwell, too, had scriptural authority ready to shelter his boldest and most atrocious crimes. He used to urge his soldiery to treat the Irish catholics "as the Canaanites had been treated in the time of Joshua."

inclinations of the people, i. e. of the major part in Ireland; which was but a pretence, and falsely collected in Scotland, from the fanatic rabble being let loose, and encouraged to act all sort of outrage upon the episcopal clergy.* Here I wish to observe that I am not the apologist of James. I execrate the memory of his house. The Stuarts were the bitterest enemies Ireland ever saw. My intention being to exhibit the actions of the contending parties in their proper light; not to bolster up the character of a kingly tyrant.

I must do James the justice to say, that the laws enacted by the Irish parliament, whilst he was in Ireland, were *the only ones*, passed since her first connexion with England, that had *her prosperity* for their object. *He himself* recommended an act for the *advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation.*†

This act in particular must be peculiarly offensive to the selfish policy of England. That country having always dreaded competition from the geographical position of Ireland, her superior fertility, and the facility with which she could export her products and manufactures, owing to the excellence of her harbours and plentiful supply of materials for ship-building, resolved that she should have neither shipping, manufactures, nor trade. The more effectually to destroy every hope of this kind, her forests, the finest in Europe, have all disappeared under the withering blast of an infamous state policy; her manufacturers are compelled to emigrate; the accumulated obstructions of centuries, remain in the mouths of her rivers; her harbours are deserted, &c. &c. &c.—these are a part of the blessings *continued* to her by the *glorious* revolution of 1688.

Mr. Graham has drawn all his stores from the same foul and lying calendar. He knows better than I do, (for I never had any connexion with the British government,) the immense sums that have been expended by *his* government in

* Lesley's Preface to his answer to Archbishop King.

† The illustrious deliverer, the apostle of Orangemen, William, had this act publicly burned.

purchasing the testimony of venal historians and *apostate United Irishmen*; yet I do not believe that any bungler it has employed, ever before went so far as to assert that the battle of the Boyne was fought on the 12th of July, 1690.* Williams's commission from heaven," must be of an earlier date: for the battle of the Boyne was fought on the *first of July*. The celebration of the 12th is to commemorate the battle of Aughrim, the assertions and the bombast of the *learned gentleman*, notwithstanding.

That William was sent as a "*destroying angel*," every Orangeman, (I know) religiously believes, and that he *did destroy*, and paved the way for the final enslavement of the fairest portion of the earth, history fully proves.† For if he gave liberty to England, he forged chains for Ireland; and, after having ratified them, he violated, without the shadow of pretext the solemn engagements entered into at Limerick. Notwithstanding this treaty, which secured to the people their civil and religious liberty, a parliament of Britons, under his sanction, and before the ink was well dry on this Charter of the liberties of Irishmen, passed the most sanguinary laws that have ever disgraced their statute book:‡ to restrain education,* to disarm the people, to banish Catholic ecclesiastics—to prevent protestants intermarrying

* *Vide* Mr. Graham's harangue, p. 12, lines 20 and 21.

† That the protestants of Ireland went further than merely the ringing of bells in their demonstrations of loyalty to James, and that the better informed among them were not blind to the *real* motives of William's invasion, we have but to refer to Dr. Leslie. In his answer to Archbishop King, he says, that the protestants prayed for James, "that God would strengthen him to vanquish and overcome his enemies;" he says further, "that they prayed four times in one year, forwards and backwards, point blank contradictory the one to the other."

‡ Lord Clare says in his Speech on the Union, that "The situation of the Irish Nation, at the revolution of 1688, stands unparalleled in the History of the inhabited World. If the wars of England, carried on here from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations, and their country would have been annexed, as a province to the British empire."

with catholics ; to prevent Catholics being solicitors, &c. &c. Yet, notwithstanding these outrages on human nature, is this man with his horse, worshipped as the champion of *civil and religious* liberty, by men who *call* themselves Irishmen.†

With the following opinion of Burke, as to the effects of the revolution of 1688, on the prosperity of Ireland, I shall close this part of my subject. "By the total reduction of Ireland, in 1691, the ruin of the native Irish, and in a great measure, too, of the first races of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as any thing in future affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the *last* event, were manifestly the *effects* of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effects of their fears, but of their security. They who carried on this system, looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in acts of power. They were quite certain, that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water, with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. Machines, which could answer their purposes so well, must be of an excellent contrivance. Indeed, at that time in England, the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists, (it would

* Papists teaching school publicly or privately, or being ushers to protestant school-masters, should be transported on pain of death if they returned. Fifty pounds reward were offered for a Catholic Bishop; ten pounds for a Catholic school-master, and twenty pounds for a Priest, to be levied on the catholics of the county where they were found—7 William III: c. iv. Burke, in allusion to this act, says, "I have ever thought the *prohibition* of the means of improving our rational nature to be the *worst species* of tyranny that the insolence and perverseness of mankind ever dared to exercise."

† On the Orange flag is the figure of a horse to which the votaries kneel. I myself have heard an Orangeman drink "to the immortal memory of William's horse!"

be hard to say, singly, *which was* the most odious) shut up the hearts of every one against them. Whilst that temper prevailed in all its force, to a time within our memory, every measure was pleasing and popular, just in proportion as it tended to harrass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon as enemies to God and man ; and, indeed, as a race of bigoted savages, who were a disgrace to human nature itself.*

When memory turns to the period, (the last fifty years) I would now describe, how heart-rending are the scenes which present themselves. My pen trembles in my hand as the recollections crowd on each other ; within that time, Ireland took her rank, for a moment, among the nations of the earth. Within that time, Ireland was an independent kingdom ; that kingdom was bought and sold. Within that time, a brave and long suffering people *united*, made one grand struggle for the liberties of their country ; but they were betrayed, and their country plundered, and they themselves hunted down, like wild beasts in the forests, by ferocious monsters, who, under the name of Orangemen, spread devastation over the land.

The rise and progress of Orangeism is accounted for by Mr. Graham, in this way, page 13, line 6, &c. “ After the first abortive attempt at revolution, *reflecting* men among the protestants, began to think they had acted rashly in *forming a brotherhood* with catholics.” “ Whether, upon the whole, it was prudent to sever at a blow, the arm of the British government, which, with all its maladies, protected them.” “ The re-action began among them.” “ They united, &c. and the wisdom of the measure recommended itself strongly.” “ This was the starting point from which the present Orange association of Ireland is to date its origin.” That that *faction*, under different appellations, devastated Ireland for more than a century before, is already proved ; but allowing, for a moment, the *learned gentleman* the full benefit of his argument, what does he prove ? Why that the faction, true to their

* Letter to Sir Her. Lang. p. 44.

principles, finding, after an "abortive attempt at revolution," that it was much more profitable to join the government, deserted their former companions, and were foremost in their butchery. It was then that "reflecting Orangemen regretted having formed a brotherhood with Catholics." It was much more congenial to their feelings and principles, to trample and oppress, than to unite with them in their struggles for freedom. Mr. Graham says that he himself was a United Irishman, but abandoned them on reflection; of course he too joined in "the re-action"—that is, in pursuit of naked, unarmed wretches, who, when surprised, were burned in their habitations; but, that "reflecting men," among the protestants, have approved of the institution of a bond of union among any portion of their countrymen, distinct and separate from the great body of the people, and that they have encouraged the celebration of the battle of Aughrim, I totally deny; on the contrary, all the Irishmen who have, for the last fifty years, by their talents and their genius, illumined the political horizon of their ill-fated country, have uniformly advocated a union of Irishmen, and have indignantly deprecated the infamous and unnatural conspiracy entered into by Orangemen, to perpetuate the slavery and degradation of Ireland.*

With what *navete* this modest and learned gentleman treats his subject. He describes the horrors of 1798, as "a mere re-action." The blood-stained flag, the emblem of destruction, "an Orange handkerchief set on a pole for amusement." I should like to ask the gentleman if he has ever heard or read of such atrocities as were perpetrated in 1798, by his faction, or if he could point out a single year in which they have hoisted their "Orange handkerchief on a pole for amusement," that has not witnessed the murder of some one inhabitant of wretched Ireland.

* In this number we find a Flood, a Grattan, a Duquerry, a Barrington, a Curran, a Burke, a Sheridan, a Robert Emmett, an Edward Fitzgerald, a Bushe, a Plunkett, &c. &c. From such a constellation of genius, could Mr. Graham not borrow one ray of light to illumine the darkness of his own intellect.

Orangemen were never United Irishmen, those who became so as spies excepted: on the contrary, an insurrectional plot, in which were embodied all the talents, all the patriotism and energy of the country, was rendered abortive by this hellish faction. "A people, ground to powder by enormous rents—the pressure of tithes, for the support of a church establishment, with which they had no connexion, were easily driven into premature action, by a well directed espionage." "The Orange system was brought into play, and the soldiery, let loose on the people, commenced the work of death and desolation—covered the country with the horrors of a most calamitous war, and drove the innocent in co-operation with the guilty. All the ties of social life were torn up, and flung into one vast heap of undistinguishable ruin. The bayonet, whetted with religious rancour, was opposed by the merciless pike; whilst at the same time insidious, but pitiless, policy held out in one hand, the olive branch, and flourished the lash of torture in the other. It was not war—it was butchery. The contest was mad revenge, driven to desperation by exterminating pursuit." The proscription, in the time of the puritans was revived. The Catholics of the north were once more warned from their homes, on pain of extermination, to seek a refuge in the western wilds. Written notices were posted on their doors with Cromwell's watch words, "To hell or Connaught."* Obedient to this bloody admonition, the affrighted catholics abandoned their habitations to the fury of the spoiler; but even this could not satisfy Orangemen. They thirsted after the blood of Papists, and were but too well seconded by the government of that day.

The Irish government, in '98, stigmatized with the name of rebellion, that which was but legitimate defence, and having made the charge, it considered itself at perfect liberty to abandon the peasantry to the whole fury of the tempest.

Grattan describes the faction that desolated Ireland at that

* * It is asserted by many respectable individuals that from 5 to 7000 families abandoned their homes in the North at this period.

day in a letter addressed to the Orange corporation of Dublin. —After vindicating his own character, he proceeds to develop the causes which have produced so much misery to that country. He says, it is that “faction which is the secret mover of all this calumny and all this injustice ; they stand at the head of a bloody combination ; I look on them as the cause of the evil that has of late fallen on their country. I protest I do not know a faction, which, considering the very small measure of their credit and ability, has done so much mischief to their king and country. They opposed the restoration of the Constitution of Ireland ; they afterwards endeavoured to betray and undermine it ; they introduced a system of corruption, unknown in the annals of parliament ! they then proclaimed that corruption so loudly, so scandalously, and so broadly, that one of them was obliged to deny in one house the notorious expressions he had used in another. They accompanied these offences by abominable petulance of invective, uttered from time to time against the great body of the people, and having by such proceedings and such discourse, lost their affection, they resorted to a system of coercion, to support a system of torture, attendant on a conspiracy of which their crimes was the cause. And now their country displays a most extraordinary contest, where an Englishman, at the head of its government, struggles to spare the Irish people, and an Irish faction presses to shed their blood. I repeat it, *I do not know a faction more dangerous, more malignant or more sanguinary.**

So thought illustrious Grattan, but the paternal government of England was of a different opinion. They had titles and pensions conferred on the leaders of this murdering banditti, and acts of indemnity passed to screen them from the punishment due to their crimes. The disgusting and horrid detail of their half-hangings, their pitch-caps, their torturings, and military massacres, I will not now venture to describe. Would to God ! that the remotest recollection of that bloody

* Grattan's letter is dated Twickenham, 9th November, 1798, and published in the Courier of the same month.

system was buried in eternal oblivion, and Irishmen at length united.

I will, however, beg the reader's indulgence, whilst I make a few extracts from a speech of Lord Moira* in the British House of Lords in Nov. 1797. It shews so clearly, and depicts so forcibly, the situation and sufferings of my countrymen at this period, that I cannot offer any thing equally strong and clear to prove my positions, and the falsities of the assertions with which the people of this country have been amused: "I address you upon this day, my Lords, upon documents sure and and stable. . Before God and my country I speak of what I have seen myself. My Lords, I have seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under. I have been myself a witness of it in many instances; I have seen it practised and unchecked, and the effects that have resulted from it have been such as I have stated to your Lordships. I have seen in that country a marked distinction made between the English and Irish. I have seen the most wanton insults practised upon men of all ranks and conditions. I have seen the most grievous oppressions exercised in consequence of a presumption, that the person who was the unfortunate object of such oppression was in hostility to the government; and yet that has been done in a part of the country as quiet and as free from such disturbance as the city of London. Who states these things, my Lords, should, I know, be prepared with proofs. I am prepared with them." His Lordship, observing on the curfew laws then in force in Ireland, continues, "*I have known an instance, where a master of a house had in vain pleaded to be allowed the use of a candle to enable the mother to administer relief to her daughter; struggling in convulsive fits.*" Again, he says, "When a man was taken on suspicion, he was put to the torture; nay, if he was merely accused of concealing the guilt of another." I have known a man, in order to extort

* This nobleman will not be accused of too much humanity by Americans, when they are told that it was he who commanded in the Carolinas, under the title of Lord Rowden, during the glorious struggle of the revolution.

confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picquetted till he actually fainted ; picquetted a second time till he fainted again—and, as soon as he came to himself, picquetted a third time, till he once more fainted, AND ALE UPON MERE SUSPICION ! Nor was this the only species of torture : men had been taken and hung up till they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men, abusing the power committed to them ; BUT THEY FORMED A PART OF OUR SYSTEM. This, however was not all ; their Lordships, no doubt, would recollect the famous proclamation issued by a military commander in Ireland requiring the people to give up their arms : it never was denied, that this proclamation was illegal, though defended on some supposed necessity ; but it was not surprising, that any reluctance had been shewn to comply with it by men who conceived the constitution gave them a right to keep arms within their houses, for their own defence ; and they could not but feel indignation in being called upon to give up their right. In the execution of this order, the greatest cruelties had been committed. If any one was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence in his house, his furniture and all his property was burnt : but this was not all ; if it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms it contained, a party was sent out to collect the number at which it was rated ; and in the execution of this order, *thirty houses were sometimes burned down in a single night*. Officers took upon themselves to decide discretionally the quantity of arms ; and upon their opinions these fatal consequences followed. From prudential motives I wish to draw a veil over more aggravated facts, which I could state, and which I am willing to attest before the Privy Council, or at your Lordship's bar.*"

The ill-omened struggle of 1798 could not last long. A people unarmed and without leaders were soon compelled to submit, and butchered in detail. Orangeism progressed, and

* See Journal of the Lords for November 1797.

as its votaries had now no fears for the loss of their dominion, they gave some attention to the proper organization of the holy brotherhood. A higher order of exterminators was established, (known under the name of purple marksmen.) They are the staunch bloodhounds of the pack, to whom is specially reserved the task of checking the increase of Irish enemies, by shooting a few hundred married men and women annually. The mere Orangeman is a low beastly creature, set on as a cur to start the game; he proceeds by every manner of provocation to rouse a sensitive people to resistance; and then it is, that the purple marksmen, those hellish exterminators are let loose on the people, to riot in blood, and clear the country of its superabundant population.

Mr. Reed (already quoted) has himself been an eye-witness to some such scenes. In 1822, on the 25th of June, "About nine o'clock in the evening a riot took place, (in Armagh) which appeared to originate in party spirit; there were a great many engaged. *The constables were not to be found*, and had it not been for the prompt interference of the military, the quarrel might have assumed a serious aspect. Some of the combatants continued to patrol the streets till a late hour, and seemed very anxious to find ribbon-men to fight with. About half past ten I met with a party of about thirty, several of whom wore red coats; (in the king's pay of course,) they stooped me, and rudely demanded whether I was a ribbon-man; but being answered in the negative, they permitted me to proceed, saying at the same time, "It is d—d well for you that you are not."* Here we have a sample of Irish State policy; the military were called out, yet the Orangemen continued to parade the streets, the town was cleared for them "*that they might amuse themselves*," trample on the inhabitants with impunity, and insult respectable strangers.

And all this no doubt in celebration of the victory of the Boyne, as a few days make no difference with Orangemen; besides they had as good a right to suppose the anniversary on

* See his notes on Ireland, page 168.

the 25th June as their *learned* brother Graham has to fix it on the twelfth day after it actually occurs.

On the 12th of July, Mr. Reed went to Middleton in Armagh county, to witness the celebration of the battle of Aughrim. "The cause of this place being selected was openly declared by some of those *brave high-minded* gentry, and was simply this : some three or four years back, a number of them had met, as usual, to celebrate the "*glorious memory*," and *insult their fellow-subjects the Catholics !* who, at length driven to resentment, *repelled* the aggressors, and the affray terminated in the glorious memory-men getting "*gloriously*" thrashed. This stain on their chivalry they determined to wipe off; and for this purpose their forces were this day to be concentrated on the ground which had before been the theatre of defeat.

At an early hour the road between Dungannon and Caladon was crowded with men, boys, women, and children; most of them wore shoes, many had stockings, and all were provided with flags, scarfs, or ribbands of orange colour. Some of these indeed were discoloured by smoke and soot-rain; but their owners (or more properly their wearers, for it was said that many of them were borrowed,) did not appear to prize them the less on that account. The importance of the occasion was heightened by drums, fifes, and bugles, which produced exhilarating discord. Some of the Orangemen and *Orangewomen* were mounted on horses, that appeared certainly to stand more in need of a feed of oats, than the airing intended for them in this procession.

There lived in the neighbourhood a poor man, named John Beavers, almost worn out by disease; hæmoptysis had brought him to the verge of the grave. I had myself prescribed for him, and most rigidly enjoined abstinence and quiet : but so irresistible was the desire to swell the *ultra-loyal* ranks, that this infatuated creature was staggering along with the crowd, nobly supported by his wife. On my expressing astonishment and regret at the fatal folly of this man, an acquaintance, who was standing by, and who was an Orangeman, said, "*The boys must all shew themselves ; else how could*

we tell whether they are of the right or wrong sort? I asked, would any of these *right or wrong* fellows support the poor man's widow and children if he were called from them. This seemed treading on tender ground.—I got no reply, and my *right or wrong* friend walked off, not at all pleased at my curiosity." He proceeds to describe his "meeting straggling parties of the Orangemen, who had taken a premature departure from the aggregate body; not, however, before they had laid in a large store of whiskey and *irresistible loyalty*. So desirous were they of an opportunity to display this *exalted* sentiment, that the cry, *five pounds for the face of a black mouth papish* was shouted incessantly. Many of them were mounted on horses, which I knew *were not their own*; almost every horse had two riders—It was really disgusting to hear the shout from boys, whose ages could have not exceeded sixteen or seventeen years, but some of whom, it would seem, were officers, as they bore standards, and were invested with other insignia indicative of authority. In the large body I should think there were between *eleven and twelve hundred persons*: and I can safely and solemnly assert, *that in the whole number there was not one decent looking individual*. This did not disappoint me; for I was assured that men who had any pretensions to respectability could not be found in brotherhood, or in any way associating with such *canaille*."

With them, "*extirpation of the unoffending catholics, was a cherished object*. In the arms of apparent death, the faint cry of five pounds, for the face of a black-mouthed papish; was the last articulate sound that could be collected from those heroes, when they fell overwhelmed by the effects of extreme intoxication. Knowing that a considerable portion of the population of that part of the country were catholics, who, it was reasonable to suppose, would oppose *force to violence*, I apprehended serious consequences, but, the Orangemen could find no Catholics to fight with; a quarrel there could not easily be excited. *It is barely doing justice to say that the conduct of the Catholics this day, was orderly, decent, and peaceable in almost creditable degree*. In the transactions

mies of social order, she could then the more easily mar the growing strength and prosperity of a dreaded rival, insinuate herself into the councils of the nation, excite distrust of the *Irish emigrant*, and thus neutralize his ardour in the cause of liberty and the country.

Mr. Graham's hostility to every liberal principle, his attachment to England, to its mode of government and policy, and hatred of religious liberty, make him a very fit agent. A man who could declare, without a blush, in the face of history and the world, that "he did not believe that the British Government is predicated (as to Ireland) on a policy merely malicious, or that it is the direct and studied object of her rulers to promote the miseries of the *subjects* of that ill-fated country;" but that he did believe that "that government did not make, but found the difficulties deeply inlaid in the ancient policy and history of Ireland, which have hitherto retarded her emancipation." Good God! how blind are the prejudices of that desolating faction; when one of them, a man, too, nursed in penury, whose wants must have been few, and who was obliged to abandon his country in search of that subsistence which was denied to his industry at home, *still defends the very policy which sent him a wanderer.*

That Mr. Graham owes to it some acknowledgement, I will freely admit. It has thrown him on a country where he has had the good fortune to raise himself to rank with those who would not associate with him at home, and it has afforded him an opportunity of recommending himself to the attention of the British government by a display of those necessary qualifications for propagating the baneful principles of Orangeism. This latter consideration had no doubt its proper weight with him, when regardless of the ties of gratitude, which bind every honorable mind to its friend and benefactor, he insulted the venerable and aged patriot, who extended to him the hand of fellowship, patronised and opened to him *that source*, from which he now draws his support, when poor, a stranger, and unknown.

That the government of England is "predicated as to Ireland on a policy truly malicious"—that it is "the direct and

studied object of her rulers to promote the misery of the Irish people"—that it is only fitted to the destruction of liberty,—to trample down in the wantonness of cruelty and oppression the comforts and rights of the people, and that it thinks of nothing but how to turn *one to cut the throat of the other*," few will deny who are conversant with Irish history.

The same system of oppression and plunder has governed the policy of England towards that country for 600 years. There is not a single act upon record from the invasion of Henry II. to the declaration of American independence which had not for its object the moral degradation of the people, and the destruction of the wealth and resources of the country. In the time of the Pale, Sir John Davis says, that "*the English lords could not endure that any other should have authority but themselves. They persuaded the king of England that it was unfit to communicate the laws of England to the Irish people, that it was THE BEST POLICE TO HOLD THEM AS ALIENS AND ENEMIES, AND TO PROSECUTE THEM WITH A CONTINUAL WAR.*"

The Revolution of 1688 gave an increase of power to the English faction to oppress and plunder the people. The Patron Saint of Orangeism, William, in a speech from his throne at that period, pledged himself that he should do all that lay in his power to DISCOURAGE THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURIES OF IRELAND, and by his ready co-operation with the Parliament, the trade was prohibited soon after; thousands thrown out of employment and the raw material exported to supply the manufactories of England.*

This act was but a prelude to further encroachments, until at length the people were left without the means of support. Thousands emigrated to France and other countries to escape the wretchedness that awaited them at home.†

Thus did this apostle of liberty, whose very "*mantle has*"* according to Mr. Graham "*entailed a spirit ever watchful of the protestant interest*," first enact that the Irish people should not read, as his soldiers did; that they should not eat bread, and

* The woollen manufacture of Ireland is naturally its staple fabric, on account of the richness of the soil, and the excellence of its climate.

† By a reference to the register of the war office of France, it appears, that from the year 1694 to the year 1745, inclusive, four hundred and fifty thousand Irish enlisted under the banners of France.—This in itself speaks volumes.

then decreed that even the bounteous hand of providence should be stayed, that its gifts might go to another people. *This was the protection afforded to the protestant manufacturers of Ireland.*

But they cannot complain ; as he left them his " mantle " to cover and protect them, they need not manufactures.

The prophet's mantle, ere his flight began,
Dropped on the world a sacred gift to man.

CAMPBELL.

The succeeding reign introduces the " ferocious act of Ann," by which Catholics were disabled from the purchase of any lands, or interest in them, for a term beyond thirty-one years ; and, if property came by descent, by devise or will, the next heir, if a protestant, might possess himself of it. Another provision destroyed the mutual confidence and relation of parent and child ; it went to the total *boulversement* of society ; it sapped the very foundations of social happiness, and reversed the order of nature entire, as it placed the father at the mercy of his child. " It permitted a son, on becoming a protestant, to make his father tenant for life to his own estate.*

The accession of the house of Hanover to the English throne, caused no alteration in British state policy, and its leading principle " that the Irish ought to be plundered, and none protected," was as anxiously cherished by the Georges, as by any of their predecessors.

In consonance with the recommendation of the then Lord Lieutenant, the Parliament of Ireland, in 1723, came to eight violent resolutions against the Catholics, which passed without a dissentient voice. To prevent the further growth of popery—for strengthening the Protestant interest in that king-

* Dr. Curry, in his *History of the civil wars*, vol. ii. page 234 says that " through this act, there runs such a vein of ingenious cruelty, that it seems to be dictated rather by some Pretor of Dioclesian than by a British Nobleman.

And Burke in his letters to Sir Her. Langrish, page 37, says of this act—" You abhorred it, as I did, for its vicious perfection. For I must do it justice. It was a complete system full of coherence and consistency : well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance ; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

dom—and for CASTRATING EVERY CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN THAT SHOULD BE FOUND IN THE REALM, &c. &c. &c.

But with the declaration of American Independence commenced a brighter era. That glorious effort awakened the slumbering energies of a long suffering people ; for when with the cry of liberty, the standard of freedom was unfurled on the shores of America, and tyrants started at the sound. EIGHTY THOUSAND IRISHMEN IN ARMS RE-ECHOED THIS CRY. The greatest enthusiasm pervaded all ranks in the country. Internal dissensions were allayed, and not one domestic enemy contaminated the face of Ireland.

A people united are irresistible. The Irish volunteers commanded the freedom of trade for their country, and the independence of its parliament, with some relaxation of the penal laws. Would to God they had gone farther. They commenced by imitating the Americans—they asserted their rights as men—gained an immoral victory of liberal principles, but they closed their career, as slaves.

England soon took advantage of this falling off. Freed from the imminent danger with which she was threatened, while America beat her armies abroad, and France her fleets at home, resorted once more to her *favourite system* of division and persecution ; on it she founds her power in Ireland, well convinced that in the enjoyment of internal peace, a union of Irishmen of all religious denominations would soon follow and destroy her supremacy, for the people would then feel their own strength and awaken to other feelings than those of base submission to the ordinances of a foreign power.

It was easy to open half closed wounds, to renew the struggle between slaves and their task-masters, and to excite distrust and spread false alarms by the means of a well paid host of spies and informers*

At length the object was attained. The people were driven into rebellion, and after having suffered under the most unheard of cruelty, and the most sanguinary acts of atrocity, and still smarting under the lash, and irritated by threats of conti-

* One method resorted to was a publication industriously circulated, stating that a scheme was formed between the Catholics and Presbyterians for the subversion of the established religion and constitution.—*Carran*, 7 *Par. Deb.* 183.

infliction, they looked on, as was expected, with the most perfect indifference, when the former acts of justice, wrung from the fears of an English Minister,* were rendered abortive by the suicidal act of the same Parliament, who, eighteen years before declared itself independent of the Parliament of England.

After this sketch of Irish history and Irish sufferings, will any man for a moment doubt, "that the government of Ireland is predicated on a policy merely malicious," "That it is the direct and studied object of her rulers to promote the misery of the Irish people." "That it is fitted only to the destruction of liberty, to trample down in the wontonness of cruelty and oppression the comforts and rights of the people," or that it thinks of any thing else but to turn one individual, in Ireland, "to cut the throat of another;" If there be any such in this country, (besides Mr. Graham, for he says that he does not believe it:) let him read the following quotation with which I shall close this part of my subject.

"You are called upon to give up your independence, and to whom are you to give it up? *To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice.* The Treasury Bench startles at this assertion: *Non meus hic sermo est.* If the treasury scold me, Mr. Pitt will scold them; it is his assertion, in so many words in his speech, Ireland, says he, *has always been treated with injustice and ill-liberality*; Ireland, says Junius, *has been uniformly plundered and oppressed.* This is not the slander of Junius, or the candour of Mr. Pitt; it is history. For centuries has the British nation and Parliament kept you down, shackled your commerce, paralyzed your exertions, despised your character, and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favor which was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her like drops of her heart's blood, and you are not in possession of a single blessing, except those which you derive from God, that has not been either purchased or ex-

* At a time when he was told those truths by Burke, "That Ireland was now the chief dependance of the British Crown, and that it behooved England to admit the Irish nation to the privilege of British citizens."

*sorted by the virtue of your own parliament from the illiberality of England.**

In page 26, Mr. Graham says that the British Government "did not make, but found the difficulties deeply inlaid in the ancient policy and history of Ireland, which have hitherto retarded her emancipation."

This is the last assertion of his which I shall notice, and although it requires but little effort after what has been already said to show its utter fallacy, yet will I for a moment (to destroy all doubt,) carry the readers attention back to the early history of my country.

We have the concurring testimony of the early historians who have written on the subject; that the national character of the Irish was long established before their unfortunate connexion with England. And that whilst the inundation of savages from the North covered the whole of the Roman Empire, that Ireland alone, by her insular situation, secure from the storm that swept the last vestige of civilization from every other part of Europe, continued to patronize the arts and sciences. And that so soon as the inundation had subsided, she seized on the first moment of calm to send forth her learned missionaries, to preach the gospel of peace, establish schools, and found and superintend seminaries in every part of Europe.† And that for centuries before the connexion her shores were annually crowded with students from the continent, who were not only educated, clothed and lodged, (by the

* Speech of Mr. Bush, [now Lord Chief Justice of King Bench in Ireland.] in the Irish Parliament in 1800, on a motion made for the union of Ireland with Great Britain. Mr. Graham will not question this authority, nor call him a partisan!!!

† Henrick of St. Germain, who wrote in the time of Charles the Bald, says, "why should I mention Ireland? Almost the whole nation, despising the dangers of the sea resort to our coasts with a numerous train of Philosophers.

In the reign of Pepin of France Virgilius Solivagus, an Irishman, was bishop of Saltzburgh, he it was who first maintained the true form of the earth on the continent and for which he was degraded by the Pope—Another 500 years after placed him on the calendar of saints.

A little after flourished the famous Johannes Scotus Erigena, also an Irishman. His writings were various, was a favourite of Charles the Bald, passed over to England at the intreaty of Alfred the Great and was the first professor of geometry and astronomy in the university of Oxford; he translated the Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite from the Greek.

nation) but even furnished with books, *then so scarce an article, gratis.**

To her Alfred, England's boasted king, owed his education. Many other facts might be adduced equally strong and convincing to justify her claim to a high degree of civilization at an early period.

Her admirable code of laws, as given by Ollam Fadhla, 930 years before Christ, improved and digested by her Brehon† the Beatagh regulation of public hospitality, for which provision was made by the nation, the cultivation of poetry and music, the extensive and magnificent ruins, once the seat of arts and sciences, the sanctuaries of learning, *all bear testimony to what Ireland has been.* But alas how lost, how fallen now! A blank in the map of Europe, her people compelled to wander in every clime in search of subsistence, and her blood her treasures and resources going to the aggrandizement of that country which has robbed her of every thing but the ruins of those monuments of her departed glory.

When an American reflects a little on the foregoing, when he contrasts the past with the present, the former prosperity of Ireland when independent, with its misery and wretchedness now that it is under the dominion of England, will he not conclude, that to a government of misrule, is to be attributed the unparelled wretchedness of the Irish peasantry.‡

When he considers the natural resources of a country in which the most appalling pictures of human misery daily and hourly present themselves. When he is told that many wretches are there, induced to the perpetration of crime by the hope of being transported out of a country which they

* A most honorable testimony, says "Lord Littleton," not only to the learning, but also to the hospitality and bounty of that nation: See Leland prel. disc. 31, Bede, Lord Coke, 4 inst. 349, &c. &c. &c.

† The conformity of this with the Jewish and Egyptian codes goes to prove what has been so often asserted, that Ireland was colonized first by Scythians, who were compelled in the year before Christ 1290 to submit to the Iberian Gael or Milesians, and who were themselves the children of Scythia, being a part of a colony of Phœnicians that had established itself in Spain.—I myself have been shown in Rome several manuscripts which (my friend assured me) fully proved the truth of those assertions, and which I was the more inclined to believe, after he had translated for me a part of those invaluable documents of Irish history.

To those who wish to pursue this subject, I shall refer them to Colonel Vallancey's researches Sir Lar. Parsons Def. of the An. Hist. of Irl. Bedc. Usher. O'Conner, O'Halloran, O'Kelly, &c. &c. &c.

‡ And that too in spite of the excellence of the climate, the fruitfulness of the soil" [which commonly produces from 60 to 70 bushels of wheat to the acre,] the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation; the safe and large ports and havens, lying open for traffic in all parts of the world; the long inlets of many navigable rivers and so many great lakes and fresh ponds within the lands; as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe, the rich fishings and wild fowl of all kinds, and, lastly, *the bodies and minds of the people induced with extraordinary abilities of nature,* Sir John Davies.

enthusiastically love, the apprehensions of the horrid death by famine which await them; should they remain at home bursting *this* and every other tie, what must be the convictions of his mind? will he think with Mr. Graham "that England did not make, but found the difficulties deeply inlaid, in the ancient policy and history of Ireland," or will he say the fault lays in the turbulence and barbarity of the Irish peasantry. I admit that the Irish peasantry are cursed with many of the vices of slavery, but we must recollect that the Irish peasant cannot be peaceable and industrious for if he toils, it is without reward, instruction is denied him, if he remonstrates it is rebellion; but he is accused of violence, he is violent; he ought to be violent; habituated to misery, familiarized with oppression, "he can bear every thing but insolence, but that he can never bear."

Plundered of every thing that could be taken from him, and not recognised nor protected by the laws of England, the care of self preservation, the laws of nature remain to him *entire*; he is as to the government of Ireland, and to the faction which controls that government; *in a state of nature*, he is bound to them by no ties, obedience to them would be a crime; submission, cowardice and non-resistance a sin against his country and posterity, yes; perpetual war, revenge, death to the tyrants, this should be his cry,†

But alas long continued, and debasing oppression has so weakened the spirit of resistance which should glow in the bosom of Irishmen, that their instinctive bravery, their impa-

† The Lord Chancellor of Ireland, (Maners,) declared some few years back from the bench, that the law did not recognise nor suppose one Catholic in Ireland.

‡ In this doctrine I am supported by Rousseau, Aristotle, Condorcet, Paley, Price, Locke, Priestly, Molineaux and others. No one will pretend to say that obedience is due where there is no protection,—so late as 1806, Lord Kingston stated in the House of Lords that the magistrates in the county of Sligo, were the real promoters of the disturbances, that some of them deserved rather to be hanged than to be made magistrates, yet they were all Orangemen and enjoyed the confidence of the government. This is the sort of protection afforded to the Irish people.

Another instance of this sort of protection is, the interference of the law in the solemn and tender relation of Husband and Wife. In August last, in this year 1824. The Reverend Barnard M'Cann was indicted at the Antrim Assizes in Ireland "for that he being a reputed Popish priest did unlawfully celebrate two marriages each between a Protestant and a Catholic had he been convicted of this crime of uniting Protestants and Catholics, he would have been hung, as the law makes the first offence punishable with a fine of £500 and imprisonment, and for the second, death without benefit of clergy. In both instances the marriages are declared void in law as contrary to that state policy which would keep the people divided into factions.

"Resistance to such a system is a matter of prudence for no one can doubt the peoples right."—C. J. Fox. 6

tience of control, their impetuosity, have all given way to the desire "*of an unnoticed and unknown existence.*" It is only when roused to avenge themselves of some atrocious insult that the dreadful energy of their character shews itself; which, like the whirlwind or the mountain torrent in its fury sweeps all before it.

Internal and eternal disunion have destroyed all confidence in each other. Single acts of oppression may meet with dreadful retaliation, but a systematic and united effort to effect the emancipation of their country is become now almost hopeless. "The eye glistening with grateful sensibility at the sounds of condolence, lights up the furrowed feature with intelligence but that divine expression of an innate gem is suddenly clouded with a recollection of debasement, and the grief, that all talent in that state is as dross settles round the heart, and fastens there in perpetual gloom."

In America then let Irishmen unite and swear by their country's wrongs, and by the immortal shades of her murdered patriots, to use all the means that God and nature have furnished them with, to destroy her oppressors, to break down the tyranny of Britain and dissolve the connexion.

To rouse the expiring hopes of their countrymen at home, would be a very effectual way of attaining those ends, for leaders are not wanting, in that country there are still daring and intrepid spirits who would yet give life and vigour to a struggle, and trample in the dust the whole fabric of British tyranny. BUT THEY WANT ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND COUNTENANCE FROM ABROAD.

With ourselves on this continent, in Canada, England is vulnerable. It would not require a great effort to destroy her power in that country.

At all events it behooves Irishmen here to instruct their children in the history of the country of their ancestors, that they may imbibe an invincible hatred of the British name, and of that sanguinary faction, part of which has now for the first time made its appearance in this country.

After having driven us from our homes, wanderers on the earth—after having rioted in the life's blood of that country to which they owe their birth, and robbed it of every thing but its name, they pursue us even into this, our last asylum. Will this be tolerated? No; forbid it heaven, in the land of liberty, in the asylum of the persecuted, a murdering banditti whose history may be traced in the blood of its victims, will not be tolerated, will not be allowed a settlement.

Exposed to their fury, our brethren massacred before our eyes, we abandoned to them our country and the ashes of our ancestors, and sought an assylum among strangers, and in a strange land, far distant from the scenes of our boyhood, but

having sworn our utter extermination, flight and distance cannot save us, for even in this free country they conspire our destruction, murder is their trade, in their breath is contagion, their grasp is death. Here sick of a subject that awakened in me the most painful recollections, I threw down my pen and put on my hat, chance led me to the City-Hall, an honest and upright man was on the bench, before him stood those demons of discord, the slave drivers of an English Oligarchy.* They bore on their fronts the marks of reprobation, the Algerine scowl, yet not once did they raise their eyes to the bench, for there they could not command the protection of the court, nor look on the judge as a partisan. They seemed as if unconscious of all that was passing around; the able and affecting appeal of the Honourable Richard Riker, before pronouncing the sentence of the law, was intirely lost on them, they heard it not; I watched their countenances of livid hue; but not the slightest shade betrayed the workings of a single passion; and yet the scene was new to them, for never before did they hear from the bench, that Irish Catholics were entitled to the protection of the law *equally* with themselves, nor could they comprehend, how it were possible for a Presbyterian judge to administer justice impartially, between an Irishman and Orangemen.*

After the clear and forcible manner in which the Recorder reprobated the attempt made to trample on the laws of a country that affords equal protection to every man cast upon her shores, whatever may be his creed or political principles; it is to be hoped that the *committée directeur* in Ireland will see the inutility of sending any more agents here, to disturb public repose. They must be convinced, that the refugees who have escaped their murderous fangs, will be fully protected here by those laws which they have sworn to defend.

Here I close for the present, "but whatever capacity, whatever spirit, whatever energy God or nature has given me, I consider myself as holding but in trust for my country, to be expended for her use whenever her oppressions or destresses draw for their assistance."

AN UNBIASSED IRISHMAN.†

* The Presbyterians are looked upon by the Orange faction as the most dangerous rebels.

† Not having been born till about the period of the failure of the United Irish System, I have never attached myself to any political society whatever.

POSTSCRIPT.

The man who bullies to-day and crouches to-morrow, is not to be trusted. His vacillating principles submit themselves to his interest; and you can never know what they are, or what he wishes to be at. One day, led away by his passions, he stands exposed in his native deformity; the next, alarmed by selfish fears of interest, he reassumes the garb from under which he was wont to impose on the public.

These reflections suggested themselves on reading about half an hour ago a late speech of Lawyer Graham, on the trial of some three or four Irishmen, for a riot which grew out of the Orange affair.

The hurried eagerness with which he attempts to gloss over the calumnies and falsities of his historical review, betrays so much baseness, is so unworthy of a man who belongs (even though he crept into it) to the first profession in the world, that I should not again pollute the paper with his name, were it not for the necessity I am under of checking the propagation of falsehood, and to gratify at the same time my wishes in shewing to the world the truth of Cobbet's assertion, "that a pure lie is necessary food to that *worst* faction the world ever saw."

The gentleman says, "that the United Irishmen were principally, though not exclusively, Catholics.

This is equally false with all his other assertions; for at the commencement of the conspiracy, the leaders were almost all Presbyterians or Protestants, and in the executive there was but one Catholic.

That "reflecting" Protestants of the north seceded at a more advanced stage, *when self-exposure was necessary*, will be readily conceded, for their deception and treachery alone brought ruin on the whole; but the Presbyterians of the north, and the Protestants of the centre and south never lost sight of that which they owed to their country and to that cause in which they had embarked their lives and fortunes.

The insidious design of Mr. Graham in giving all the credit to the Catholics, and in making them the chief instigators and actors in the scenes of 1798, is an old trick of the faction; they wish to make believe that the Catholics and Presbyterians do not make common cause in their uniform resistance to British tyranny; and that the discontents of each are *not* bottomed in a galling sense of the most unheard-of oppression, but in religious rancour, which has "endured," according to Mr. Graham, FOR SEVEN HUNDRED YEARS.

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